

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 IO-13 ISO-00 PA-02 PRS-01 USIA-15

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 /079 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/P:EJONES:SEB

APPROVED BY NEA/P:EJONES

IO/UNP - MR. HELMAN (INFO)

NEA/EGY - MR. NEWBERRY (INFO)

NEA/IAI - MR. SMITH (INFO)

NEA/ARN - MR. DRAPER (INFO)

----- 094558

P 131703Z NOV 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS STATE 280059

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: IS US PFOR

SUBJECT: COMMENTARY ON UNSC CONSENSUS STATEMENT

1. FOLLOWING, FOR YOUR INFORMATION, ARE NETWORK COMMENTARIES BY ABC'S HOWARD K. SMITH AND CBS'S MARVIN KALB ON THE UN CONSENSUS STATEMENT VOTE.

2. HOWARD K. SMITH: "NOBODY LIKES BEING CENSURED, IN THE UN OR ANYWHERE ELSE, BUT ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON'S REBUKE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TODAY, IN PUBLIC BEFORE
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REPORTERS, WAS MORE OF A TANTRUM THAN A PROTEST OR A

COUNTER-ARGUMENT. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS WHAT APPEARS TO BE AN INCREASINGLY PERMANENT ABSORPTION BY ISRAEL OF OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES.

WELL, U.S. OPPOSITION TO THAT IS NOT NEW. IT IS, AND HAS LONG BEEN, U.S. POLICY THAT THE DISPOSITION OF THOSE TERRITORIES MUST AWAIT MUTUAL AGREEMENT AT A CONFERENCE OF EQUALS. IT IS ALSO WELL ESTABLISHED U.S. POLICY THAT IN RETURN FOR SOLID GUARANTEES OF ISRAELI SECURITY, THE BULK OF THOSE LANDS MUST BE RETURNED TO SOME FORM OF ARAB SOVEREIGNTY, WITH A FEW MINOR, AGREED, MUTUAL ADJUSTMENTS OF BORDERS.

GIVEN THAT WELL KNOWN POLICY, AND THE WORDING OF THE MOTION IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, IT WAS HARD FOR THE U.S. TO VOTE ANY OTHER WAY BUT FOR CENSURE. WHAT MAKES MR. ALLON'S MANNER DOUBLY DISTASTEFUL IS, IT WAS DIRECTED AT THE NATION, AND NOW THE ONLY NATION, WHICH VIRTUALLY GUARANTEES ISRAEL AGAINST ARAB CONQUEST, AND HAS LATELY OFFERED ISRAEL ARMS BEYOND HER PRESENT NEEDS AND DEMANDS. SOMEHOW, THE POINT HAS GOT TO BE MADE THAT U.S. POLICY MUST TAKE ARABS AS WELL AS ISRAELIS INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY SETTLEMENT. AND, ABOVE ALL, OUR POLICY MUST BE MADE IN WASHINGTON, NOT IN TEL AVIV. THE U.S. IS OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORABLE TO ISRAEL, BUT THE U.S. IS ALSO AN INDEPENDENT NATION. BARBARA? " END QUOTE.

3. MARVIN KALB: "THE ELECTION IS OVER, AND THE OUTGOING FORD ADMINISTRATION JOINS OTHERS IN CONDEMNING ISRAEL.

EGYPT RAISED THE ISSUE BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, THE ISSUE OF ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORY TAKEN DURING THE 1967 WAR. EGYPT WANTED A DIPLOMATIC VICTORY, AND EGYPT GOT IT. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH TWICE THIS YEAR HAD REFUSED TO GO ALONG WITH THE UN CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL, THIS TIME, A WEEK OR SO AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THIS TIME DECIDED TO JOIN EVERYONE ELSE IN WHAT IS CALLED A CONSENSUS STATEMENT DEPLORING ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORY. IT IS A MOOT QUESTION AT THIS POINT AS TO WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD HAVE CONDEMNED

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ISRAEL A WEEK OR SO BEFORE THE ELECTION, GIVEN THE CLOSENESS OF THE RACE. BUT NOW, THE ADMINISTRATION FELT ITSELF UNDER NO POLITICAL INHIBITIONS, AND IT VOTED ITS REAL POLICY.

BACK IN MARCH, AND AGAIN IN MAY OF THIS YEAR, A SIMILAR RESOLUTION OR STATEMENT CAME BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, AND THE U.S. VOTED AGAINST IT, BALANCING ITS

SUPPORT OF ISRAEL WITH A CAREFUL CRITICISM OF SEVERAL ISRAELI ACTIONS ON THE WEST BANK, CRITICISM DESIGNED TO APPEASE THE ARABS. ALL IN ALL, THE U.S. TOOK A PRO-ISRAELI ACTION, WHILE EXPOUNDING SOME ANTI-ISRAELI RHETORIC THIS TIME, THE U.S. JOINED OTHERS IN AN ANTI-ISRAELI ACTION, WHILE REPEATING ITS ANTI-ISRAELI RHETORIC. THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATION IS THAT THE U.S. HAS ALWAYS DISAPPROVE OF ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION OF ARAB LANDS, AND THAT THE U.S. MANAGED TO SOFTEN THE LANGUAGE OF THIS STATEMENT, GETTING THE ARAB SPONSORS TO DROP THE WORD "RESCIND" IN ONE CASE, AND TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. "IF ANYONE HAS CHANGED," THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATION GOES ON, "IT'S THE ARABS, BY

AGREEING TO THIS SOFTER LANGUAGE".

THIS IS DIPLOMATIC SOPHISTRY, DOUBLETALK THAT MAKES LITTLE LONG-RANGE SENSE. SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER, WHO IS SAID TO HAVE APPROVED OF THIS AMERICAN CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL, HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED IN THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF AN EVENTUAL ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS. HE'S ALWAYS BALANCED HIS OPTIONS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO KEEP THE ISRAELI DOVES INTERESTED IN A SETTLEMENT, AND THE ARAB MODERATES IN POWER. THIS LATEST AMERICAN ACTION MAY HAVE PRECISELY THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. IT MAY FILL ARAB STRATEGISTS WITH ROMANTIC ILLUSIONS ABOUT AMERICAN PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, ALL-OUT PRESSURE TO FORCE ISRAEL TO GIVE UP OCCUPIED TERRITORY, ROMANTIC ILLUSIONS THAT COULD DRIVE THEM INTO UNREALISTIC AND DANGEROUS COURSES OF ACTION. THAT'S HAPPENED BEFORE. AND IT MAY ALSO DO FOR ISRAELI POLITICS WHAT ISRAELI POLITICIANS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DO, COME TOGETHER IN A COMMON FRONT AGAINST FURTHER ISRAELI CONCESSIONS TO THE AMERICANS AND THE ARABS FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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THE SAKE OF AN ACCOMMODATION. IN OTHER WORDS, THE HARD-LINERS IN ISRAEL MAY BE STRENGTHENED, ALONG WITH THOSE IN THE ARAB WORLD.

THERE IS ONE OTHER POINT THAT MIGHT BE MENTIONED IN THIS EFFORT TO EXPLAIN U.S. POLICY. NEXT MONTH, THE OIL CARTEL KNOWN AS OPEC WILL MEET, AND IT MAY VERY WELL RAISE OIL PRICES ONCE AGAIN. THE ESTIMATES VARY BETWEEN 5 PERCENT AND 25 PERCENT, WITH 15 PERCENT A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE FIGURE. THE U.S. OPPOSES ANY OIL PRICE INCREASE, FEARING DISASTROUS ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. COULD THE U.S., BY NOW VOTING WITH THE ARABS, BE TRYING TO HEAD OFF ANOTHER OIL PRICE RISE? IT IS ONLY A QUESTION, BUT ONE PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER IS GOING TO HAVE TO FACE VERY QUICKLY." END QUOTE.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

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DRAFTED BY NEA/P:EJONES:SEB

APPROVED BY NEA/P:EJONES

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TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 280059 ACTION AMMAN BEIRUT CAIRO DAMASCUS
JERUSALEM NAIROBI USUN NEW YORK 13 NOV 76

QUOTE UNCLAS STATE 280059

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END QUOTE.

KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
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Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE280059
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EJONES:SEB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760425-0171
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761150/aaaabrbx.tel
Line Count: 335
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
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Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

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Subject: COMMENTARY ON UNSC CONSENSUS STATEMENT
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US
To: AMMAN
BEIRUT
MULTIPLE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006